5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

721 not, however, to extend territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of unified purpose. The war decision was [701] made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only so long as war lasted. His mark of office was the toki, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 18th century, at least, the toki-ax was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before [834] going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 8 days before starting out.

725 **Tactics and weapons.**—As early as 1568, the *Araucanians* had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn branches, pitfalls and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spies and fifth-column work, and log forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Moesbach, 1936, p. 126).

411 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and slings. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (circa 14 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Frézier, 1716, p. 58; cf. "gorguz," in Ercilla, canto 25, 1910, p. 415, and Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225). The bow was short, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 95, 5 palmos) with sinew string; the arrows, according to González de Nájera (ibid., pp. 95–96), about 2½ palmos long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed elbow club of heavy wood, about 15 palmos long, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 96); and another type of

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 266 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 727 534 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 727 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had [834] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 121 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 115.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Cognizance, however, is taken of puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (fücha pəra). Only an occasional mother instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chukürí, and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a menstruating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, "That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "indios," but as "indígenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some distance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non- [838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other."

A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

834 574 513 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night, their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—"we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawiñ and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawiñ, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (ŋishem or üshem, cernicalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawiñ was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawiñ was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same [574] lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community.

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise [589] separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage.

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers 834 and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between themselves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers 593 dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die.

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an 596 extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system.

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving